MONTREAL INSTITUTE FOR GENOCIDE STUDIES

SEXUAL POLITICS IN THE THIRD REICH

The Persecution of the Homosexuals During The Holocaust: A Bibliography and Introductory Essay

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A QUOTE

"The pink triangles died like flies in a few weeks. There was never any society of homosexuals in the camps, or a society of gays in the camps. They were never organized like the politicals or some of the other groups. They were isolated. They died quickly. They were starved to death or worked to death. There was no big deal made about them. They entered as pink triangles and they died. Where there was homosexuality in which there was some pleasure were the guards, the soldiers, the Ukrainians, the Estonians, Roumanians, and Hungarian SS, even the Germans. Yes, there was homosexuality among the guards. They were the 'real' homosexuals.

"They used little children. They kept the little boys in cages. Later they killed them like chickens when they were finished using them. Yes, there was a lot of homosexuality but not many homosexuals. Maybe I was an ugly little kid and that's why they didn't choose me. I wish they had chosen me to be their homosexual because then I could have gotten food and I would have survived."

Interview with a Jewish survivor of ten Nazi death camps including Auschwitz, Dachau, Budzin, Krasnik, Radom, Nikaresulm, and Grossazanheim. December 17, 1988, Massachusetts.

PREFACE

The research for this topic and other writings on the subject gained impetus from a memorable international conference on the Holocaust held in Oxford and London in July 1988. All those who atended were deeply moved and affected for many years to come. There was a panel held in a lovely Oxford hall on comparative genocide and both in the audience and at the head tables were some of the most eminent authorities on genocide and the victims of genocide (Yehudah Bauer, Frank Chalk, Kurt Jonassohn, Gabrielle Tyrnauer, Vahakn Dadrian). I was happy to have been part of that panel and to have discussed the "pink triangles" as forgotten victims of genocide. I am doubly happy that several of the above-mentioned people were also responsible for helping this bibliography get published. I hope it proves useful to both layman and scholar alike.

There were many victims in the Nazi camps. As one interviewee told me, there were many kinds of triangles, not just pink triangles. There were seven or eight different colors with numbers. Jews were politicals. Jews wore red triangles – political triangles – as well as yellow stars. Germans had black triangles, meaning saboteurs. They were one of the biggest groups. Green triangles were murderers, killers. Different groups had different triangles and different triangles denoted different "crimes."

Holocaust research in general is difficult but for research on homosexuals, the problems multiply. First, the data that exist are often questionable or unreliable and primary data are scanty and inadequate. Many records were lost or destroyed. Even after the war, "homosexual" was still a dirty word; Paragraphs 175 and 175a, the 1935 Nazi revision of the

ancient German law proscribing homosexual acts, remained in force until June 1969, when much of Paragraph 175 and all of 175a were abolished (see appendix).

Gay men (and women too) were thus stigmatized for many years after Unlike Jews and other victims, they could not receive wiedergutmachung (restitution) payments since West German courts decreed that gays were criminals under the Nazis and thus not eligible for such Futhermore, under the laws of genocide, the killing of payments. homosexuals was not considered a crime against humanity. Sexual minorities are not included in those categories under which genocide is defined. In addition, gay men who wished to emigrate from Europe had to keep their true sexual identity secret because many nations, including the United States, enforced laws that forbade homosexuals from immigrating or even visiting those countries. Gays who fled Nazi Europe feared that their new citizenship would be jeopardized if their homosexuality was discovered. employers and neighbors might dismiss or shun someone who was openly gay. For all these reasons, it was very difficult to find and interview gay survivors of the Holocaust.

Scholars, too, have been homophobic on the subject or simply did not know about the persecution of those with the pink triangles. Nearly every book or encyclopedia on the Nazi era simply omits mention of homosexuals or treats the subject superficially, usually in connection with the homosexual tendencies of certain SA leaders murdered under Hitler's order. Thus, because research is built upon prior research, there are almost no well-traveled roads in this field. The subject has emerged out of the shadows only during the past few years. Several books and monographs, an Italian movie (with Sophia Loren and Marcello Mastroianni) a Broadway play (Bent), plus a revival of Cabaret have aroused public interest in the persecution of homosexuals during the Third Reich. The proposed Holocaust museum and memorial in Washington, DC, will also have a place for gays.

This "forgotten genocide" can now "come out of the closet" so to speak, not only historically but also sociologically. Thanks must go to Professor Rüdiger Lautmann of the University of Bremen and his colleagues for their patience and good will in bringing their research to print, and to

Vern Bullough, Erwin Haeberle, James Steakley, Erich Goldhagen, Richard Rubinstein, William Percy, George Mosse, and the people mentioned earlier, along with Richard Plant, for their constructive criticism and heartfelt support. The group that studies the pink triangles is small but we all know and support each other.

In her touching collection of essays, *Practicing History*, Barbara Tuchman quotes the great nineteenth-century German historian Leopold von Ranke, who said that he found "the truth more interesting and more beautiful than the romance." It was also Ranke who set the historian's task: to find out *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*, what really happened, or (literally) how it really was. Yet this task will always remain just beyond our grasp. I think Ranke and Tuchman would both agree that truth should be our goal in dealing with the "pink triangles," and I think the reader will also find that the truths in this book are much more "intereting and beautiful" than the romance.

INTRODUCTION

by Jack Nusan Porter

In the 1930's there began in Germany a persecution of male homosexuals that was, as with the Jews, the worst in their history. (Lesbians, since they could continue to breed children, presented no practical reproductive problems to the Nazi state.) While "gay" is so American and "New Yorky," the term "homosexual" better describes the victims of this genocide, and the modern plague of AIDS only heightens interest in "gay genocides." In fact, AIDS would have fitted in beautifully with the distorted Nazi ideology that homosexuals were a "contragenic" group (to use Richard Plant's term) or "sexual vagrants" (to use the "Grand Inquisitor," Heinrich Himmler's term).

It started with the murder of Ernst Röhm and other SA leaders in the famous blood purge that began on June 30, 1934. The first Nazi pogrom against the Jews, on the other hand, was the *Kristallnacht* of November 9-10, 1938, and the actual termination of the Jews did not begin until the summer of 1941. Thus, it can be argued that the murder of homosexuals started earlier than that of the Jews.

While hundreds of books and articles have been written on the Jewish genocide, the "gay genocide" has been either a taboo subject too delicate to touch upon or a topic too often obscured by other issues. The books that have appeared are either good books put out by obscure publishers – for example, John Lauritsen and David Thorstad, *The Early Homosexual Rights*

Movement: 1864-1935 (New York: Times Change Press, 1974); Heinz Heger, The Men with the Pink Triangle (Boston: Alyson, 1980); plus works by the Gay Men's Press of London – or, if more widely circulated, flamboyantly written books with little regard for historical accuracy or good taste, yet published by some large, well-known publishers – for example, Frank Rector, The Nazi Extermination of Homosexuals (New York: Stein & Day, 1981); Martin Sherman, Bent (New York: Avon Books, a Bard Book, 1979); Adriaan Venema, The Persecution of Homosexuals by the Nazis (Los Angeles: Urania Manuscripts, 1979). However, a recent book of Richard Plant, The Pink Triangle: The Nazi War Against Homosexuals (Henry Holt, 1986) is cause for celebration. Plant, a survivor of the Holocaust and a teacher at the New School for Social Research in New York City, has written a very fine book on the subject and it stands with some of the best literature on the Holocaust.

Controversy surrounds every aspect of this genocide, even the label "genocide." For example, we do not accurately know the number of homosexuals incarcerated and killed. Figures like 250,000 to 500,000, even a million, are thrown about wildly as if to say that the greater the numbers, the more tragic the event. This obsession with numbers is a legacy of the Holocaust. Why are 20,000 killed less tragic than 20 million? In the aftermath of the Holocaust, even numbers themselves lose their significance.

Three of the most renowned and respected scholars of gay history – Professor Vern L. Bullough, Professor Erwin Haeberle, and Professor Rüdiger Lautmann – all agree with Mr. Plant that not more than 20,000 homosexuals were ever killed, even though the figures range from 5,000 to 15,000. Gay prisoners, who were forced to wear pink triangles, often did not survive long in the camps because they were isolated from one another and harassed by guards and other prisoners. Of those committed to the camps, 60% of the homosexuals, 41% of the political prisoners and 35% of the Jehovah's Witnesses died. Of course, Jews and Gypsies (over 500,000 victims) had much higher death rates.

Other questions also arise concerning the sexual politics of the Third Reich. Was Hitler homophobic? If so, how could he have tolerated Ernst Röhm and other homosexual Nazis for so many years? It is clear that Röhm and the SA were decimated not because they were gay but because of

powerful power conflicts within the Third Reich. After Hitler came to power, the Wehrmacht made him aware that the SA posed a threat to them. In truth, Hitler no longer needed the SA. For external forces, had a professional army; for internal force a disciplined police corps (the SS) that questioned none of his policies. Röhm and the SA, their antics and their politics of continuous national socialist revolution, embarrassed Hitler. Furthermore, the palace intrigues of the SS under Himmler to gain an upper hand were proving successful. Hitler had tolerated the sexual excesses of the SA in his climb to power, but after 1934, when he had obtained it, Röhm and his cohorts proved to be a political liability. Hitler, ever the pragmatist, knew that the SA was very unpopular with the conservative circles of Franz von Papen, the Prussian aristocracy, the Wehrmacht and the industrial elite, all of whom were threatened by this so-called "people's army." In this political trade-off Röhm had to go.

Hitler's July 13, 1934 speech to the Reichstag justified the blood purge as due largely to the necessity of "burning out" the "plague-boil" of "perversion." Hitler lied in that speech when he said he did not know the extent to which gays were in command of the SA; he did not lie, however, in his condemnation of this "perversion." Hitler did despise homosexuality; his homophobia was rooted in his own fears about his sexuality and his masculinity. He was determined that no one would ever suspect him of sexual inadequacy, femininity or homosexuality. Yet, as in so many other aspects of his life, Hitler felt ambivalent toward homosexuality. He feared it and detested it, yet was fascinated by it. He was at the same time a pragmatic political being and a homophobe. Now that he had disposed of Röhm and the SA, he could freely express his true feelings on the subject from an invulnerable position. Hitler could now attack homosexuals for political reasons as well as psychosexual reasons.

A significant homosexual civil-rights movement had existed in Germany since 1897, supported strongly by both the Social Democratic and, later, the Communist parties. Led by the renowned sexual reformer Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld, Director of the Berlin Institute of Sexology, this movement had worked for the abolition of Paragraph 175 of the German Criminal Code, a sodomy statute adopted in 1871 when the German Empire

(the "second Reich") was created under Bismarck. This movement was allied with the growing feminist movement in Germany and with left-wing causes.

Hirschfeld himself was a Jew, an anti-militarist, a socialist and a homosexual. A petition drawn up by Hirschfeld's Scientific Humanitarian Committee was signed by thousands of German writers and intellectuals including Albert Einstein, Thomas Mann and Martin Buber. In the 1920's, during the Weimar Republic, prospects for reform looked excellent, but in 1928, when letters were sent to German political parties, asking for their position on reform, the Nazi reply was as follows:

Munich, May 14, 1928

Community before Individual:

It is not necessary that you and I live, but it is necessary that the German people live. And they can live only if they can fight, for life means fighting. And they can fight only if they maintain their masculinity. They can only maintain their masculinity if they exercise discipline, especially in matters of love Anyone who even thinks of homosexual love is our enemy. We reject anything which emasculates our people and makes them a plaything for our enemies, for we know that life is a fight, and it is madness to think that men will ever embrace fraternally. Natural history teaches us the opposite. Might makes right. And the stronger always win over the weak. Let's see to it that we once again become strong!...

In 1929 a Reichstag committee voted by the close margin of 15 to 13 to introduce a penal reform bill that would decriminalize private homosexual acts. The crisis provided by the 1929 stock market crash caused the bill to be shelved, however, just when success appeared imminent.

The anti-homosexual nature of Nazism became evident in 1933, along with its antisemitism, when the Nazis vandalized and closed Hirschfeld's Institute. Hirschfeld himself watched the burning of his library on newsreels at a movie theater in France. He had left Germany in 1930 for a trip around the world; he never returned. Hirschfeld represented all that the Nazis despised; his humanitarianism was the antithesis of everything for which they stood. He died in Nice on May 14, 1935, at age 67.

The Nazi purge of homosexuals from their own ranks was only beginning. On June 23, 1935, the anniversary of the Röhm killings, the Nazis began a legal campaign against homosexuals by adding to paragraph 175 another law, 175a, which created ten new criminal offences including kisses between men, embraces and even homosexual fantasies. Arrests jumped from about 800 to 8,000 per year; more important, the Gestapo, under the notoriously anti-homosexual leadership of Heinrich Himmler, entered the picture. Himmler is quoted as follows:

Just as we today have gone back to the ancient Germanic view of the question of marriage mixing (sic) different races, so too in our judgment of homosexuality – a symptom of degeneracy that could destroy our race – we must return to the guiding Nordic principle: extermination of degenerates.

The Nazi persecution of gays cut short two other phenomena: the homosexual-rights movement led by Dr. Hirschfeld and the sexual research movement, which was also led largely by Jews. Thus, to be Jewish, sexually tolerant and liberal was to be *ipso facto* an enemy of Nazism. Sexual freedom, religious freedom, and intellectual freedom, including sexual research, seems to go hand in hand in a democratic society; conversely, a fascist state seems to have little room for any of these freedoms.

It is good that research on this subject appears on the scene at this time. There is a new Holocaust Museum being erected in Washington, DC, and it will commemorate not only the six million Jews murdered by Hitler but also other victims of genocide such as Armenians and Gypsies (Rom).

Jewish "exclusivists" will argue that the Holocaust was unique to Jews. They do not wish to share the museum with any other victims. Other Jews oppose sharing on the grounds that some of the minorities acted as informers, collaborators and guards, or even murdered Jews – venting their frustrations at prejudice against them in antisemitism.

The Jewish "universalists" on the other hand, who have won the deciding round on the questions, agree to share the sacred memory of an experience so devastating (two-thirds of the Jews in Europe died), and in which Jews so clearly predominated numerically, with all the people who were murdered. Thus, the museum is expected to commemorate homosexuals as well as Gypsies, Jehovah's Witnesses, POWs (mostly

Russians and Poles) and anti-Nazi political prisoners from many nations including Polish and Ukrainian citizens. The Holocaust was unique and the Jews were unique victims, but the other victims must be honoured and given a place of respect.

CONFERENCE PROCEEDINGS, INSTITUTE REPORTS, JOURNALS, FILMS.

World League for Sexual Reform (Congress Proceedings): Berlin 1921; Copenhagen 1928; London 1929; and Vienna 1930; Founded in 1921.

International Congress for Sexual Reform Proceedings.

The Scientific-Humanitarian Committee (founded in 1987 by Magnus Hirschfeld and lasting for 35 years until 1932). It published a yearbook, Jahrbuch fur Sexuelle Zwischenstufen, which appeared more or less regularly both as a yearly and a quarterly from 1909 to 1923. Also published were the Quarterly Reports of the Committee plus pamphlets and books; for example, a book about homosexuality called What People Should Know About the Third Sex (1903). An abridged version appeared in 1923 called The Problem of Sexual Inversion. A movie was also made on the subject but has never been found.

Institute of Sexology (1919); all its archives were destroyed by the Nazis.

Magnus Hirschfeld Foundation for Sexual Reseach (1918).

- See also obituaries in the New York Herald Tribune and New York Times after his death, May 14, 1935.
- The "Hirschfeld Scrapbook," a collection of handbills, minutes of meetings, posters, and documents can be found at the Kinsey Institute for Research in Sex, Gender, and Reproduction, Indiana University, Blomington, Indiana.
- Several films should also be noted, some historical such as Anders als die Andern [Different from the Others], made during Weimar Germany and "starring" Dr. Hirschfeld, and modern documentaries such as Pink Triangles: A Film About Prejudice Against Lesbians and Gay Men, made by Cambridge Documentary Films of Massachusetts (P.O. Box

385, Cambridge, MA 02139) in the 1980's. Also available in videocassette with study guide.

Films inspired by Magnus Hirschfeld's work:

M, by Fritz Lang, 1933.

Anders als die Andern [Different from the Others], 1919. Magnus Hirschfeld has a small role in this film.

Sexuelle Zwischenstufen [Sexual Intermediaries], UFA and the Institute for Sexual Science, Berlin, 1922.

Mann oder Weib [Man or Woman], 1923.

Gesetze der Liebe [The Laws of Love], Humboldt Films, 1924.

Das Recht auf Liebe[The Right of Love], Hegewald Film, 1924.

Geheimnisse einer Seele [Secrets of a Soul], by G. Pabst and H. Casparius [shown publicly], 1925.

Pandora's Box, by G. Pabst, Berlin, 1929.

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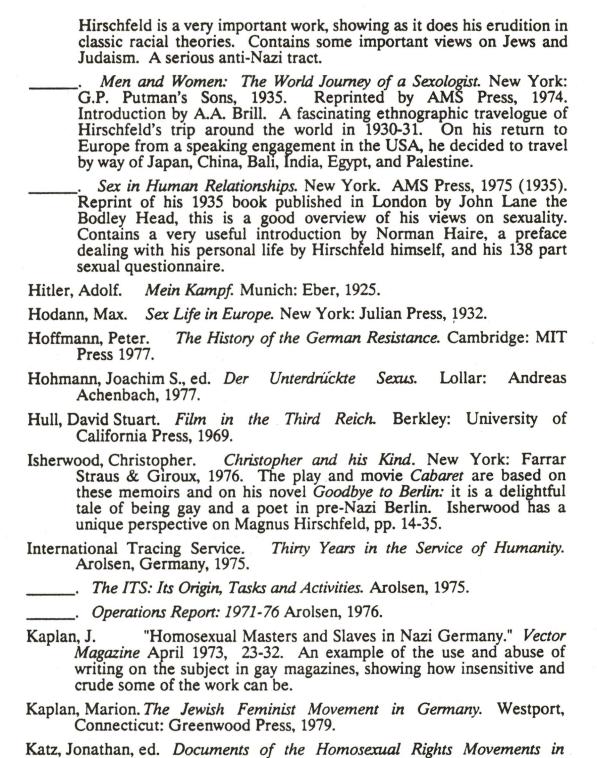
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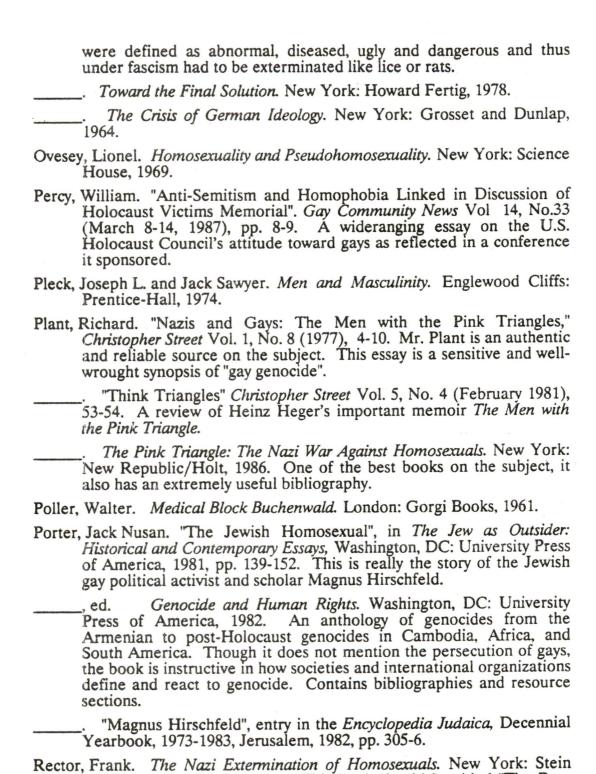
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APPENDIX

GLOSSARY OF NAZI AND GAY TERMS

Anschluss

The Movement for a political union between Germany and Austria. On March 11, 1938, it became a reality through armed force: the Germans annexed Austria.

Blockalteste (BA 1)

Block senior, a prisoner with certain responsibilities for his block.

CC

Short for concentration camp. See also KL and KZ.

Central Security Department

(Reichssicherheitshauptamt), combined national headquarters of all police and security forces, presided over by Himmler.

dignitaries

(Prominenz), concentration-camp slang for the Capos and seniors.

Gestapo

Geheime Staatspolizei, secret state police.

Goering, Hermann

The number two man in Nazi hierarchy, Hitler's heir apparent, and a high military and economic leader in the Third Reich. Came to full power after the Röhm *Putsch* in 1934. Was tolerant of gays.

Himmler, Heinrich

The SS-Reichsführer who led the relentless drive to exterminate the homosexuals. Compare to Goering.

kapo

Probably from the Italian il capo, a block warden or elder, much feared by inmates of the concentration camps. Also a

prisoner responsible for work detachment.

Konzentrations Lager, the Nazi abbreviation for concentration camp.

The inmate abbreviation for concentration camp. See *CC*.

Camp senior, a prisoner with certain responsibilities for the entire body of prisoners in the camp.

Camp commander, an officer directly in charge of the prison camp, but subordinate to the commandant of the entire concentration-camp complex.

Camp commandant.

The "camp police" to which the "German" prisoners were recruited in the last months of the war.

A major leader in sexual reform, human rights, and the gay liberation movement in Germany and throughout Europe. His Institute of Sexual Science was destroyed by the Nazis in May, 1933 and he was forced into French exile, where he died on May 14, 1935, at the age of 67.

Head Capo, a prisoner in charge of a group of Capos.

The infamous paragraph in the German Penal Code which was the legal justification for the persecution of homosexuals. It forbade homosexual acts between males above the age of twenty-

KL

KZ

Lagerälteste

Lagerführer

Lagerkommandant

Lagerpolizei

Magnus Hirschfeld

Obercapo

Paragraph 175

pink triangle

Reich Main
Security Officer

Reichswehr

Reparations Act

one. Paragraphs 174 and 176 referred to "seduction," homosexual acts with minors aged fourteen through twenty, or with a dependent. Paragraph 175a was the 1935 Nazi revision of the old 1871 law. This law stayed on the books until June 1969. See Appendix for complete law.

The strips of cloth worn by camp inmates that designated them accused homosexuals. Other colors and marks included yellow for Jews, green for criminals, and red for political prisoners.

In German, Reichssicherheitshauptamt, The main security department of the Nazi government. Set up in 1939; here began the persecution of Jews, gays, Gypsies, and political opponents.

Name of the standing army during the Weimar Republic and the opening years of the Third Reich, from 1920 to 1935. In later years the name was changed to Wehrmacht, the armed forced of the Third Reich.

A 1956 act that allowed reparations to be made to those persecuted under National Socialism, the Nazi regime. Not everyone was covered by the act; only those persecuted on the basis of political opposition or for racial, religious or philosophical reasons. Non-political and criminal crimes excluded Gypsies, homosexuals. criminals. and other

Röhm (or Roehm)

SA

SS

"antisocial" elements from receiving reparations.

Ernst Röhm (1887-1934) was an early Nazi politician and SA leader who was assassinated, along with several other SA leaders and followers, soon after the June 30, 1934 blood purge. Although the pretext of the killings was that Röhm and his leaders were homosexuals and were planning a coup (along with Gregor General and Kurt Strasser Schleicher), it is now known that it was a power struggle in the Nazi hierarchy. Röhm's power was seen as a threat not only to Hitler, but to the military leaders, the SS, and the industrial elite. attack against gays began in earnest after this putsch. See SA.

Abbreviation for the German word Sturmabteilung, the "storm troopers" or Brown Shirts, a mass paramilitary organization created by Hitler to intimidate his political opposition and facilitate the seizure and holding power in Germany. Led by Ernst Röhm, the SA grew quite powerful and was eliminated in a power struggle in 1934. See Röhm Putsch.

Abbreviation for Schutzsaffel, protection squads. These were paramilitary elite units responsible for guarding Nazi leaders, terrorizing anti-Nazi individuals

and organizations, and operating the concentration camps. SS-Hauptscharführer Rank equivalent British army to sergeant-major. SS-Hauptsturmführer Rank equivalent to British army captain. SS-Oberscharführer equivalent to British army Quartermaster-sergeant. SS-Obersturmbannführer equivalent Rank British army lieutenant-colonel. SS-Obersturnführer Rank equivalent British to army lieutenant. SS-Reichsführer Heinrich Himmler, national head of the entire SS and Central Security Department. SS-Standartenführer Rank equivalent to British army colonel. SS-Untersturmführer Rank equivalent to British army 2nd lieutenant. Urnings or Uranians An early, now outmoded, term for homosexuals. Waffen-SS The military wing of the SS, originally separate from the concentration-camp guards, but later amalgamated with them into a single combined force. Wehrmacht The regular German army. Wiedergutmachung legal principle behind the The Reparations Act of 1956. It literally means "setting things right" in German; reparations for lost businesses or for illnesses caused by Nazi persecution.

Homosexuals, Gypsies, and certain others

were not allowed to collect under this

principle. See Reparations Act.

175er Homosexual, from Paragraph 175 of the

criminal code.

IIs Sub-department of the Gestapo for

"control of Homosexuality and Abortion."

Source: For some terms the source was Heinz Heger, The Men with the Pink Triangle, Boston: Alyson Publications, 1980, pp. 116-17.

TEXT OF PARAGRAPH 175

Text of Paragraph 175, with amendments as issued on January 28, 1935.

175:

- 1. A male who indulges in criminally indecent activities with another male or who allows himself to participate in such activities will be punished with jail.
- 2. If one of the participants is under the age of twenty-one, and if the crime has not been grave, the court may dispense with the jail sentence.

175(a): A jail sentence of up to ten years or, if mitigating circumstances can be established, a jail sentence of no less then three years will be imposed on

- 1. any male who by force or by threat of violence and danger to life and limb compels another man to indulge in criminally indecent activities, or allows himself to participate in such activities;
- 2. any male who forces another male to indulge with him in criminally indecent activities by using the subordinate position of the ther man, whether it be at work or elsewhere, or who allows himself to participate in such activities;
- 3. any male who indulges professionally and for profit in criminally indecent activities with other males, or allows himself to be used for such activities or who offers himself for same.

175(b): Criminally indecent activities by males with animals are to be punished by jail; in addition, the court may deprive the subject of his civil rights.

Source: Richard Plant, The Pink Triangle, New York: Holt, 1986, p. 206.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Jack Nusan Porter is a sociologist, author, editor, and Jewish activist. Born in Ukraine in 1944 and raised in Milwaukee, he graduated *cum laude* from the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee and received his Ph.D. in sociology from Northwestern University in 1971.

He has published eighteen books and anthologies and over 200 articles, including Student Protest and the Technocratic Society, The Study of Society, (contributing editor), Jewish Radicalism (with Peter Dreier), The Sociology of American Jews, The Jew as Outsider: Collected Essays, Kids in Cults (with Irvin Doress), Conflict and Conflict Resolution, Jewish Partisans (two volumes), and Genocide and Human Rights. He has made many contributions to reference books and journals including the Encyclopedia Judaica, Encyclopedia of Sociology, Society, Midstream, and Writer's Digest.

He is the founder of the Journal of the History of Sociology and the Sociology of Business Newsletter and the winner of the John Atherton Fellowship from the Breadloaf Writers' Conference as well as fellowships from the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture and the World Jewish Congress. He is listed in Who's Who in the East, American Men and Women of Science, Who's Who in Israel, and Contemporary Authors.

Dr. Porter has lectured widely on American social problems and political/religious movements. He has testified before several government commissions including the White House Conference on Families and the National Peace Academy hearings. Long active in Israel and Jewish communal activities, he is considered one of the founders of the Jewish student movement in the USA and Canada in the late 1960's.

He lives with his wife Miriam, their son Gabriel and daughter Danielle in Boston, where he was a research associate at Harvard University at the Ukrainian Research Institute and he was an assistant professor of social science in the College of Basic Studies, Boston University.

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